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PREFACE

The materials embodied in this volume were collected by the writer from November, 1926, to July, 1927. They are no more than a small sample of materials which might be obtained. They are far from constituting an ethnographic monograph on the people of Tepoztlán. Eight months is too short a time within which to secure the data for such a monograph. One would have to spend a considerably longer period, and one would need a command of both languages spoken in the community, not merely a fair knowledge of one of them. Eight months is not even time enough to correct all one's initial blunders. That this report still contains some positive mistakes the writer knows is likely. The materials are now published only because it seems improbable that he will soon be able to return to Tepoztlán to continue the study here only introduced. In order to indicate some of the limitations of the materials, statements derived, not from the direct observation of the flow of custom in the village, but from accounts, insufficiently corroborated, of informants, are so indicated in footnotes.

The study was initiated under the encouragement and direction of Dr. Fay-Cooper Cole, and was made possible by a fellowship granted by the Social Science Research Council. The writer has had much opportunity to learn from Dr. Robert E. Park, and has like-

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can be observed, it would seem, in the diffusion of tools and rational techniques from *los correctos* to *los tontos*.

The materials which can be offered here are too scanty to permit even a beginning of such a study. They are indeed inadequate to give a balanced description of all the commoner practices in connection with life-crises. But they may be offered so that the merely depictive aspect of this study may be more nearly complete, and so that the cadence of a Tepoztecan life may be at least outlined.[1]

A pregnant woman keeps largely to the seclusion of her own home. There are no important taboos on women during pregnancy. "If she suddenly wants to eat something, and cannot get it, she takes *tzacxochitl*[2] so that the child will not fall." After three months of pregnancy she goes to the *barranca* to bathe. She may do this many times before the birth.

When the time of delivery comes, she is assisted by a midwife [S. *partera;* N. *amantecatl*]. The midwife cuts the umbilical cord with scissors, measuring four fingers' length from the child. Then the cord is carefully tied with cotton thread which has been doubled or quadrupled and the end of the cord is burned well with a tallow candle in order that it may not bleed. Tallow from the candle is put on the thread, and the child is tied up with a band. In about three days the cord will fall off, but every day until that time fresh tallow is put on. When the cord has fallen, tallow is put on for the last time. The umbilical cord is preserved

[1] The materials on birth customs were secured by Margaret Park Redfield. They were nearly all obtained from one informant, a woman of middle age, who had borne nine children. She represents the typical *tonta;* and it is probable that what she described is characteristic of the majority of births in Tepoztlán. Information on marriage customs is much less complete; it was obtained from three informants, two *tontos* and one *correcto*. That on death customs is more complete, and probably the customs here vary little from family to family. The writer attended many funerals.

[2] *Laelium* sp. She takes an infusion of the pseudo-bulb.

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127 locating and making available to me much unpublished archive materials pertaining to Tepoztlán. He also permitted me to use his excellent private library and files on uncataloged documents in the Archivo General y Pública de la Nación. Had it not been for his cooperation and generosity, the historical sections of this study would have suffered.

000 In the course of my work in Mexico, my family and I were shown kindnesses by many people. I wish particularly to thank Julio de la Fuente, Emanuel Palacios, Angélica Castro de la Fuente, Amelia Fox, Alfonso Villa Rojas, Wigberto Jiménez Moreno, and Antonio Pompa y Pompa. It was also my special privilege to work with Manuel Gamio, Mexico's elder statesman among social scientists.

Our friends in Tepoztlán are too numerous for mention here, and I must thank them as a group. Needless to say, this study was made possible only by their kind [115] cooperation. Well over one hundred Tepoztecans contributed directly as informants, and a few were among my best assistants.

To Dr. Robert Redfield I am indebted for his continued interest in this study. Correspondence and discussions with him have always been stimulating and [122] helpful. He graciously aided me in securing funds for my last two field trips. Moreover, his encouragement in this critical restudy of his own work, in the interest of science, has been a source of moral support.

[128] Dr. Theodora M. Abel and Dr. Renata A. Calabresi have been most kind to [114] take time out from their busy schedules to analyze the Rorschach protocols and to produce Chapter 13—"The People Seen from Their Rorschach Tests." Dr. Edgar Anderson, of Washington University and the Missouri Botanical Gardens, has graciously helped with an intensive study of Tepoztecan corn. His report, "An Intensive Survey of Maize in Tepoztlán," appears as Appendix A. To my colleagues at the University of Illinois, Dr. John Albig, Dr. Erich Ahrens, Dr. J. E. Hulett, Dr. Margaret Reid, Dr. Frederick Will, and Dr. O. H. Mowrer, I am grateful for their reading of portions of the manuscript and their helpful suggestions. To Dr. George P. Murdock, Dr. Melville J. Herskovits, Dr. Paul Radin, Dr. Howard Becker, and Dr. Jules Henry, I am also grateful for their comments on portions of the manuscript. I would like to thank Dr. Vera L. Maslow for her careful and critical reading of the entire manuscript.

To my wife, Ruth Maslow Lewis, I am deeply indebted for her collaboration in all aspects of the field work and for her aid in the preparation of the manuscript.

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(40–99); and 4.4 per cent are in the upper group (100–407.4). The lowest group can be broken down into three subgroups: those with 0 score, from 1–19 and 20–39, which we shall call I–A, I–B, and I–C, respectively. The middle group will be referred to as II. The upper group will be III–A (100–159) and III–B (160 and over).

To test the validity of our groupings, we asked ten informants to name the ten wealthiest families in the village. All those named were in our top group. Another way in which we checked our scale was to present names selected from each of the economic levels of the scale and ask informants to rank them according to their wealth. Again we found a very high correlation.

What are the characteristics of each of these economic groups? First let us consider the families with zero scores. For the most part they are either young married men, most of whom live with their parents, who also have low scores; or they are widows or old men, many of whom live alone. One-third of this group are women who manage to earn a living by small-scale trade and by doing odd jobs.

Groups I-A and I-B, which consist of 511 families with scores 0-19, contain 97 per cent of the landless people in the village. Three hundred and fifty-four, or 70 per cent, of the families in this group have zero scores for land. How do these landless people live? Approximately one-third depend upon *tlacolol*, but all depend upon a variety of activities which together provide a meager income. Many burn charcoal, sell wood, work as peons, are small traders, or have some other part-time occupation. They have some measure of security in that most of them own their houses and house sites or will inherit them. About one-third have hogs. Less than one-third own a mule, horse, or donkey.

The 119 families in Group II include most of the artisans and merchants as well as better-to-do farmers. The former are the most acculturated group in the village. They are the ones who wear ready-made clothes, send their children out of Tepoztlán to high school, and generally have a higher standard of living.

Group III consists of 38 families, all of whom have high scores on land, cattle, or both. About one-half of these families have inherited their land from wealthy relatives who before the Revolution were *caciques* and dominated the village. The other half have worked their way up to their present position.

We might ask whether there is any relationship between position on this scale and standard of living. Do the wealthiest people have the highest standard of living? On the whole, the people in Group III consume more meat, milk, eggs, and bread, and they generally live in better constructed and better furnished houses, some of which have running water. But they are not the ones who go in for modern dress or any ostentatious spending for comforts or luxuries. They are a hard-working people and not a leisure class. One of the distinguishing characteristics of this group is that they generally have hired men all year around, but, with the exception of two men, they work side by side with their peons.

What is the relationship between wealth and the adoption of new traits? The Mexican Census of 1940 included three interesting items which provide us with

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13 *the people as seen from their rorschach tests:*

by Theodora M. Abel and Renata A. Calabresi

128 In our analysis[1] of the Rorschach protocols we have attempted to find out what the people of Tepoztlán are like. We have compared the records of children, adolescents, and adults, to investigate changes that take place in personality structure and dynamics as the maturing processes unfold. We have also attempted to obtain from the projective material some conception of what it means to be a boy or girl, a man or woman in this Mexican community. Our emphasis has been on intergroup comparisons, where the groups to be compared vary in sex and chronological age.

It is true that there are limitations in the effectiveness of interpreting material from a cultural group with which we are but slightly familiar and to which we have not been directly exposed. But enough work has been done by various investigators to verify Rorschach's initial premise that the fundamental dynamics and structure of a personality in any culture can be ascertained.[2] What the psychologist has to be aware of in the interpretation of a personality-in-culture, are such pitfalls as labeling records in terms of standards of normalcy and psychopathy, and in terms of behavior, using subjects in the United States, particularly the urban and the more sophisticated and educated groups as criteria.[3]

125 ## *CONDITIONS OF TESTING AND SUBJECTS CHOSEN*

The Rorschach tests were given in Spanish by Ruth M. Lewis[4] over a four-month period in 1943–44, as one part of a broad ethnographic and historical study of the village. The selection of subjects for the test was determined by the objectives of

[1] This chapter was written by Dr. Theodora M. Abel and Dr. Renata A. Calabresi prior to their reading of an earlier chapter on the people. However, they had seen three short published articles of mine, one of which dealt with inter-personal relations. In addition, they had read an early version of one of my family studies.

[2] E. Oberholzer, "Rorschach's Experiment and the Alorese," *The People of Alor* by Cora Du Bois, Chap. XXII. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1944.)

[3] Theodora M. Abel, "Rorschach Test in the Study of Cultures," *Rorschach Research Exchange and Journal of Projective Techniques*, XII (1948), 1-15.

[4] This section, "Conditions of Testing and Subjects Chosen," was written by Ruth and Oscar Lewis.